A NEW POEM by H. D.

THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 9, 1961 . . 25c

MEETING the NEW SOVIET THREAT

An Alternative to the Arms Race

Theodore Roszak

U. S. vs. USSR: Automation Race

Edward R. Cain

THE LEGION INVADES a CAMPUS

David Binder

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LETTERS

Nature of Delinquency

Dear Sirs: What more sorry spectacle does our time offer than that of the confused parent in the courtroom to which the youth has been brought for some unspeakably heinous crime crying, "My boy is not a bad boy, my boy is a good boy!" The parent, still unaware and unconcerned (save with avoiding punishment) with the depravity of the crime, feels that the situation somehow would be rectified if only evil could be called good. The same amoral approach, in technical, less emotional terms, is made by Joseph Margolis, it seems to me, in his "Rebellion or Delinquency" in the July 15 issue of *The Nation*. If only this degeneration of decency called delinquency could be called noble, creative rebellion, why then, as the ad goes, "Poof, there goes perspiration!" . . .

The qualities of honor, self-sacrifice and courage mentioned by Mr. Margolis will, upon reflection, show that they have been perverted — not invented — by the delinquent. . . . If the delinquent is seen as a youth in confusion, not rebellion, a human being in the process of degeneration and not creation, a potential criminal of future, if not current, danger to himself, his family and the world, then we are in the position to take the necessary action towards his possible regeneration. . . . Our hope, it would seem to me, is in well-conceived, unsentimental programs of rehabilitation. If these are not forthcoming in the near future, the prospects are likely that the public will accept programs of draconian punishment of which neither Mr. Margolis nor myself would approve.

Islip, L.I. OLIVER K. ZIPP

East German Capital

Dear Sirs: Why do you use in editorials, and do not correct writers, who use the term "Pankow" for the East German Government? Some few leaders of that government have residences in Pankow, but this does not justify the use of the term any more than the residence in Silver Springs, Md., of members of the U.S. Government would justify the term "Silver Springs government." The East German Government buildings are in the center of Berlin.

If the use of Pankow is an attempt to hark back to occupation days, then it is again inaccurate — the Soviet Military Administration headquarters were not in Pankow, they were in Karlshorst. . . . Is it perhaps that Pankow *sounds* so Russian? If so, its use is a contribution to the cold war. It makes the East German Government seem artificial, the society it represents unreal, un-German, unrepresentative. . . .

ELEANOR WHEELER

Prague, Czechoslovakia

While her supporting arguments may be shaky, Mrs. Wheeler would seem to have come up with a valid conclusion. There is an East German Goverment, de facto *if not* de jure, *and its seat is in East Berlin. Whether or not it is an "artificial" government, or whether the society it represents is "un-German" or "unrepresentative" may or may not be debatable, but it is certainly irrelevant.*

As far as The Nation *is concerned, the capital of East Germany is henceforth East Berlin; the Soviet presence, however, remains.*

Undemonizing

Dear Sirs: *The Nation* (editorial, Aug. 12 issue) feels that the new Soviet blueprint for the future (the party program) should weaken those who "demonize" the USSR. . . . Translations from the Soviet press, local Communist sources and Khrushchev's talks reveal a relentless attempt at slander and vilification of our country. If we are demons of capitalism, how can the USSR halt its expansionist drive and convert its war economy to a peace economy? If the cold war is to subside, somehow the Russians must learn that the West is quite capable of great progress. . . . If the Soviet Union had its equivalent of *The Nation*, perhaps some Soviet readers could learn that we in the United States are not demons.

MARVIN MAURER

Newark, N.J. Rutgers University

"The CIA" Reprints

For the benefit of those who want reprints in bulk of "The CIA," which was inserted into the *Congressional Record* of August 8 by Congressman Abraham Multer (D., N.Y.), the Congressman has informed us that the prices are as follows:

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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Thou Shalt Not Appease

The most mischievous word in the post-Hitlerian lexicon is "appeasement." Because Neville Chamberlain, from motives which were at the same time patriotic and Machiavellian, threw Czechoslovakia into the Nazi maw, every subsequent attempt, good or bad, to compose differences between nations has been tarred with this brush. It brooks no synonym or substitute; to propitiate, to placate, to assuage would not have its devastating effect. When "appeasement" is flung at a politician, he is almost forced to get tough, but he will never be tough enough to satisfy his critics.

This seems to be the coming Republican strategy to bring down President Kennedy in 1964. It has the virtue of simplicity, always a prime ingredient of demagogy. Representative William E. Miller, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, has set the keynote. "Charges Kennedy Appeases Soviets," the New York *Herald Tribune* headline reads. No other word than appeasement, says Mr. Miller, can describe Administration retreats and defeats in Laos, Cuba, the test-ban negotiations at Geneva and the "ultimatum" delivered to President Kennedy when he met Premier Khrushchev in Vienna. Assistant appeasers, in the Miller view, are Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles, with his concealed two-China policy, and Adlai Stevenson, who allegedly is also soft on Red China and, like Secretary of State George C. Marshall before him (according to Joe McCarthy), may be preparing to sell out his country.

President Kennedy has made some mistakes of his own, but his chief defeats and retreats have been in his forced role of liquidator of the mistakes of his predecessor. Probably no American President has inherited such an Augean stable in foreign affairs. This does not bother the Republican National Chairman one whit; on the contrary, he sees it as a godsent opportunity. He is confident that the voters have forgotten yesterday or, at any rate, the day before yesterday.

Asked if the Republicans will make the President's "appeasement in dealing with communism around the world" a campaign issue in the 1962 Congressional elections, he replied that this would have to wait on events. There is little doubt, however, which way events will go. There are certainly further difficulties ahead; the notion that the United States can decisively defeat communism all over the world is unalloyed folly. The President's job is hard enough as it is; if he thinks he can lighten his burden by falling back on the Eisenhower-Dulles (and Truman-Acheson) policies, the outcome can be disastrous. It is not appeasing Premier Khrushchev that the President needs to fear as he approaches the delicate task of responding to the Soviets' resumption of bomb testing, but appeasing Representative Miller.

Doors to Neutralism

There are all kinds of doors to neutralism, and some of them swing in opposite directions. From Rome, for instance, comes word that the Berlin crisis has so frightened the Italians that some among them are no longer enamored of their long-time reliance on, and alliance with, Washington's foreign policy. "The simple idea of a Berlin crisis," writes the usually pro-American Italian weekly *L'Espresso*, "is opposed by the majority of Europeans, including the Italians. . . . We cannot ask that the West Europeans accept the 1945 Potsdam situation as valid for today, and at the same time ask them to prepare themselves for a massacre in defense of West Berliners' freedom. And what today creates merely unease, could tomorrow facilitate the birth of a new kind of neutralism." Well, that's one door: Italy will go neutral unless the West goes softer on Berlin. And in Bonn, in the shape of an Adenauer message to President Kennedy, comes the threat of another door opening: West Germany will go neutral unless the West gets tougher on Berlin. "[The Chancellor] is said to believe," says *The New York Times*, "that unless the West shows a noticeable ability to defend its position in West Berlin, a desire for some kind of an accommodation with the Russians, perhaps by fishing for a neutral role between the East and the West, will become stronger. . . ."

Here's one situation, obviously, where Washington will find itself quite unable to satisfy both its loyal allies. For our part, we'd be in favor of any development which would force Adenauer to relinquish the impossible position to which he has stubbornly clung for so long — i.e., that he can have both a unified, armed Germany and one that is identified solely and completely with the West.

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Text for the Gambling Probe

It would almost seem as though the Government Investigations subcommittee currently probing into gambling has been using as its text "Gambling, Inc.," the exposé which Fred J. Cook wrote for *The Nation* of October 22, 1960. The people, the place names, the techniques, the stories of corruption which Mr. Cook wrote about now reappear in the Senate hearing chamber to the shocked incredulity of Senators who apparently had never heard of loaded dice, layoffs, wire relays for bookies or the pay-off. All this gives great satisfaction to *The Nation* and its readers, who can congratulate themselves on being a year ahead of the Senate inquisitors. More important than this is the fact that the subcommittee could be laying the groundwork for federal action in a field which has long cried for it. Early in the current hearings, Senator Jackson said in effect to a witness: "You and I know what the problem is — the gamblers are paying off the local police, the sheriff, the judges and everybody else." It is to this heart of the matter that Mr. Jackson has addressed a proposal that would authorize federal prosecution of local officials who are "on the take."

Such a law is needed for precisely the same reasons that moved Congress finally to authorize certain federal initiatives in cases of racial discrimination with regard to voting. In both gambling and race discrimination, too often the law violators are parts of a community-wide conspiracy which makes convictions in local courts impossible. In the one instance, the conspiracy arises from a common greed, in the other from a common prejudice. Since greed is an even more compelling motivation for human behavior than prejudice, it is our guess that Senator Jackson's proposal will have hard sledding in Washington — even harder than most civil-rights legislation.

Violence Won't Work

Monroe, North Carolina, is an armed camp. The law enforcement officers are armed with submachine guns and other high-class firearms; the civilians, both Negro and white, have only rifles, shotguns and pistols; but all the facilities for mass bloodshed are on hand. In Monroe the preparations are not limited to the whites. A Negro leader, Robert F. Williams, has publicly advocated violence as a means of ending racial restrictions. He and a white youth have now been indicted on charges of kidnaping a white couple and holding them hostage during a race riot.

The riot started when seventeen Freedom Riders, who had been arraigned in Jackson, Miss., on charges growing out of their efforts to end segregation in transportation, stopped off in Monroe to speak, allegedly at Mr. Williams' invitation. They called for desegregation of the municipal swimming pool, equal police protection for Negroes, improved job opportunities and a conference with the mayor. In Monroe, such demands are regarded as inciting to riot and the Freedom Riders were duly held in lieu of $1,000 bond on that charge. Forty-eight persons in all were arrested, not including Mr. Williams who, evidently not confident of receiving equal police protection, improved job opportunities or a fair trial, decamped for parts unknown.

Nothing could be more natural than for a Negro to resort to violence in a desperate effort to right his wrongs. For two centuries the Negro has been oppressed, beaten, exploited, enslaved, disfranchised, lynched, insulted and mistreated in every way, simply because he was a Negro. When he turned to litigation and, after decades of mistreatment in the federal courts, finally won his case, the South resorted to every possible tactic of evasion and obstruction. If the Negro finally reaches for a gun, he is doing only what every red-blooded white Southerner has been doing for generations, and with no provocation to speak of. One can only sympathize with the Negro who has lost patience.

But one cannot support him, for the method is one calculated to produce martyrs, not to remedy injustice. Southern governments are in white hands and the only chance for a solution is in concerted action by white and Negro moderates. Whatever the outcome in Atlanta, school integration there has started off in the right, the workable, way. That example, and the example of Little Rock, New Orleans and other cities where the violence has all been on the part of the white die-hards, should continue to be followed by Negroes. Violence breeds violence, world without end. Not Robert F. Williams (if the reports about him are true), but Martin Luther King, Jr., is the leader for Negroes to follow.

T. K. Quinn: Giant Killer

In the death last week of T. K. Quinn, *The Nation* has lost an old friend and the country a valiant fighter against that concentration of corporate power which represents one of the great threats to American democracy. In warring against bigness in business, Mr. Quinn knew whereof he spoke (and wrote): he resigned as vice president of General Electric years ago precisely because he had learned much about corporate practice, and didn't like what he had learned. Years later, the federal courts learned a little of what Mr. Quinn already knew, and in the G.E. conspiracy case in Philadelphia, several of the corporation's top officers found themselves branded as criminals.

In an article which Mr. Quinn wrote for *The Nation* on May 26, 1956, he stated: "The attitude of the freedom-loving citizen must always be that he is unalterably opposed to the extreme concentration of power anywhere." A fitting epitaph.

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AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE ARMS RACE

Meeting the New Soviet Threat . . *by Theodore Roszak*

The world received the news of Soviet intent to renew nuclear-bomb testing with shock and dismay. The immediate reaction of most Westerners was that we must retaliate in kind. Yet clearly the re-launching of a nuclear-arms race solves no problems; it can only rain slow death upon the globe and bring nearer the day of ultimate catastrophe.

For many persons, last week's developments serve to emphasize the fact that the only way out of the critical situation facing the world lies in some form of unilateral disarmament.—EDITORS.

UNILATERALISM is the maverick in any discussion of disarmament, the brain child of radical pacifists and humanitarians. With the exception of the British Labour Party's ambiguous and apparently evanescent alliance with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, nowhere in the West has unilateralism achieved official recognition. It possesses no body of thought comparable in quantity, thoroughness and authority to that on deterrence or negotiated disarmament. In the minds of most, it exists only as a synonym for the most naive kind of idealism or defeatism.

And yet, unilateralism may well become the most crucial area of thought on disarmament and arms control. The only alternative to a blindly burgeoning competition in genocidal weaponry — a prospect that is enough to baffle and frighten even the most steel-hearted RAND strategist — will be the search for unilateral action that will check or inhibit the arms race.

Recognizing this, a growing number of American intellectuals — not all of whom qualify as radicals or pacifists — have begun the search. Among them are C. Wright Mills, Kenneth Boulding, Jerome Frank, Lewis Mumford, Erich Fromm and George Kennan. The recently formed Committee of Correspondence — active mainly in the Cambridge-New York area — and TOSCIN, the Harvard student group, are manifestations of this new interest in unilateralism.

None of these many individuals or groups mistake disarmament for a panacea; it is only one problem among those confronting us. But they do believe our narrow concentration on military power, logistics and strategy has, besides endangering our survival, waylaid our ability to make intelligent and morally respectable foreign policy. An example of this over-militarized world view would be Herman Kahn's recent book, *On Thermonuclear War*. Kahn begins the book by asking that we try to appreciate the "narrow military aspect" of our situation. By the end of the work, the "narrow military aspect" has assimilated all other problems; it stands alone as the one thing deserving our money, manpower and serious thought. The result is a view of the world as frightening as it is fantastic.

Nor are the unilateralists—though they frequently create the impression — distinterested in a negotiated settlement of the arms race. This is clearly the ideal solution. And indeed the whole intention of the unilateralists is to create a more favorable atmosphere for serious negotiation. Rather, unilateralism is a response to the long-standing bankruptcy of multilateral discussion. In the absence of negotiated agreements, the unilateralists simply refuse to prosecute the arms race to its grisly conclusion.

PERHAPS the greatest difficulty in discussing unilateralism is that it sounds too radical. It is often overlooked that, before last week's development, both Russia and the West for several years restricted unilaterally their ability to make war. During this period, the testing of nuclear weapons was discontinued by unilateral decisions on both sides, supported by no treaty or inspection. Similarly, in the interest of military stability, neither side has launched a civil defense effort remotely adequate to the dangers of nuclear war. Our fail-safe system, which inhibits our bombers, once airborne, from striking at the Soviet Union unless specifically ordered to do so, is a form of arms control we have unilaterally imposed upon ourselves. Undoubtedly the Russians have a similar system. In all these cases, decisions affecting the efficiency of waging war were reached without consultation or inspection between the rivals and for a while created various kinds of equilibria in the arms race between East and West.

THERE are conservative unilateralists and radical unilateralists. The conservatives include those who look to arms control rather than disarmament as the solution to the arms race. Arms control, while it could be an important step towards disarmament, is not disarmament. It seeks rather the creation of an invulnerable weapons system which need not strike first in order to devastate the enemy — and can therefore be relieved of its hair-trigger. Most arms-controllers want to see this "stabilized deterrent" achieved by East and West mutually, by way of negotiation. But there are those who argue —and persuasively—that this country can begin working toward it unilaterally.

Frank Bothwell of the University of Chicago, for example, has recommended that the United States renounce its effort to build up a "counterforce" against the Soviet Union. Counterforce is weapons aimed at weapons, in this case missiles intended to knock out enemy missile bases before their deadly contents are disgorged. It takes no deep student of games theoretics to perceive that two opponents seeking to defend themselves by knocking out each other's missiles before they are launched should both "pre-empt": that is, they should have attacked each other five minutes ago. This is

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clearly an unstable situation. It necessitates matching the enemy missile for missile, if not in some more demanding ratio. And it produces a trigger-happy state of nerves.

Bothwell suggests that we avoid this nightmare by holding down our defenses to a limited number of invulnerable weapons: he recommends Polaris and Minuteman missiles. The Navy Polaris, much to the chagrin of the Air Force, pretty well qualifies as invulnerable. The Air Force Minuteman, on the other hand, is a bad candidate for the status of "stabilized deterrent." The Kennedy Administration has canceled plans for the mobile Minuteman, a missile to be shuttled around the country on freight cars. The stationary Minuteman, which is going to be the mainstay of our missile arsenal — thanks to Air Force lobbying — purchases its "invulnerability" at the expense of the civilian population by inviting terrifically heavy fall-out-saturated attacks against its concrete silos. The "harder" the base, the larger the warhead the Russians will aim at it. If anything, Minuteman-type missiles are apt to generate a race to produce deeper silos and bigger warheads, in the course of which the danger of pre-emption will grow greater than ever.

But suppose for the moment a force of invulnerable missiles could be built. If the Russians followed our lead in this — and both sides refrained from launching a civil defense race — then, presumably, these missiles would be aimed at the only accessible targets left: population centers. East and West would have bought their security by overtly placing their civilian populations in hostage.

TO SAY the least, it is a weird conception of "security" that leads a society to shelter its weapons like rare treasures and expose its children to incineration. But what Bothwell is pointing out is worth remembering: deterrence does not mean we must match the enemy weapon for weapon, casualty for casualty. It means rather that we must make it hell on earth for the enemy that attacks us. If they can be made safe from attack, weapons need become only so potent and numerous as to become capable of inflicting unacceptable damage. They need not be perfected and proliferated indefinitely.

Once the balance of terror has been stabilized in this way, Bothwell feels more attention could be given to the problem of limited war, for which funds would then be available. Limited war, so-called, is an idea that needs much closer study than is usually given. Ordinarily it is accepted as a desirable objective — and of course it is, compared with the thermonuclear apocalypse. But what would a limited war between major powers look like? Those who breathe a sigh of relief to think of any future war as being "limited" had best remember: such a war will begin where World War II left off. It will begin with atomic weapons up to four times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb, which in the last fifteen years have become "tactical" weapons. It will begin with a "conventional" arsenal many times more efficient than the blockbusters, firebombs and flame throwers of the last World War — and this time possibly include poison gas and bacteria. It will be just as much a war against civilian populations — including our own — as World War II was, only it will be more terrible, more total, lengthier and more destructive.

Contemplating this prospect in a recent book, George Kennan concluded that another war of any magnitude approaching World War II would not be tolerable. He writes:

> Let us by all means think for once not just in the mathematics of destruction—not just in these grisly equations of probable military casualties—let us rather think of people as they are; of the limits of their strength, their hope, their capacity for suffering, their capacity for believing in the future. And let us ask ourselves in all seriousness how much worth saving is going to be saved if war now rages for the third time in a half-century over the face of Europe. . . .

Accepting the deterrent as a "temporary and regrettable expedient," Kennan advocates that it be employed only as a retaliatory threat against direct attack upon the United States. Beyond this, we should keep the world as denuclearized as possible — especially Europe, which can least afford atomic war. This the United States can begin doing unilaterally by denying atomic weapons of any description to NATO. Indeed, Kennan would go further. He would see NATO scaled down to a "paramilitary, territorial militia" on the Swiss example. Its function would be twofold: to act as an internal police force against "unscrupulous and foreign-inspired minorities"; and to form the "core of a civil-resistance movement" against a foreign invader.

KENNAN'S recommendations are based on an assumption that is bound to be controversial. He holds that the Soviet Union does not want Western Europe and has no designs upon it. To those who have long thought of NATO as a shield against Communist aggression and who have come to understand Kennan's famous policy of containment as a purely military policy, this can only seem outrageous. Moreover, this is exactly the kind of premise that cannot be worked into strategies based on the theory of games, wherein "rational" opponents must be out to get, to have and to keep all they can. But if Kennan is right, his policy makes the sheerest good sense. In that case, we are arming Europe against an unlikely menace with armies and weapons that may provoke major war.

Both Kennan and Bothwell are asking that we take advantage, unilaterally if need be, of the potency and range of missiles and modern bombers in order to limit their numbers and locations as much as possible. They are questioning the standard military assumption that there can be no such thing as too many weapons or too many bases. The measures they recommend would be significant contributions to a saner nuclear policy. They leave the central problem unsolved, however: how do we get Russia and America disarmed — and soon?

For the more advanced unilateralists this is a problem of the utmost urgency for more than one reason. They doubt the validity of deterrence theory — and their critique is a formidable one. They doubt that the balance of terror can ever be so "stabilized" that it will be immune

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to the *Machtpolitik* and "crackpot realism" of decision-makers. They doubt that limited wars involving major powers can be kept from escalating into all-out war. But beyond this they are aware of subtler, though no less real, dangers — dangers that threaten more than our physical survival. In the words of Erich Fromm:

> To live for any length of time under the constant threat of destruction creates certain psychological effects in most human beings—fright, hostility, callousness, a hardening of the heart, and a resulting indifference to all the values we cherish. Such conditions will transform us into barbarians—though barbarians equipped with the most complicated machines.

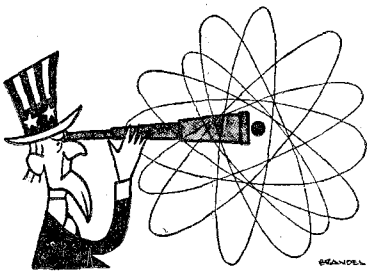
Nuclear weapons are an obscenity. They stand in their silos and on their launching pads like the sleek tombstones of human pity and decency. And yet we have permitted men to depend for bread upon their construction. Men of intellect have built grand careers shaping the inhuman strategies that will implement these terrible machines. The military, the high-priests of nuclear terror, speak with authority in the counsels of state and have made the politics of nations over in their image. If one has ever seen school children examining a Polaris missile the Navy has been good enough to display for them, ogling the thing and touching it and climbing up with fascination to inspect its warhead, how can one but agree that subtly, silently, something is being destroyed here, something as precious as life itself?

But, the standard reply runs, the monstrousness of the weapons does not preclude their necessity. How do we get rid of them if the Russians won't cooperate? For all the hesitation and ambiguity of Western disarmament policy, the Russian position was for long equally discreditable and is now more so.

There are two unilateralist answers to this dilemma: unilateral initiative and unqualified unilateral disarmament.

THE BEST presentation of what has come to be called the "initiative approach" comes from Charles Osgood; he prefers to call his proposal "graduated unilateral disengagement." Osgood suggests that we draw up a schedule of disarmament measures, each one of which would be significantly disadvantageous to us "in terms of military aggression," but without being "cripplingly so." The earlier measures would be limited and cautious, the later ones more comprehensive. Each measure would be attended by full publicity and the reciprocal action expected of the Russians would be clearly specified.

Significantly, the initiative approach has been especially attractive to outstanding psychologists: Osgood, Jerome Frank, Erich Fromm. In their eyes, the logic of disarming to parley is "psycho-logic," a return to sanity from the blind irrationality of the arms race. Here we have Russia and America, two prospering societies whose vital economic interests are less and less in conflict. Both sides voice the desire for peaceful coexistence and non-violent competition; both openly recognize the suicidal character of war. Though each side portrays the other as fundamentally wicked, this "bogey-man theory" of the enemy cannot withstand thoughtful analysis. And yet both sides continue to prepare, at painful expense, weapons and strategies that threaten their mutual devastation. What is the real engine of this arms race? The answer is fear.



One of the real difficulties here is specifying initiatives that meet Osgood's criteria: there simply exists no precedent in history for the systematic creation of military disadvantages. The Committee for Non-Violent Action has recommended the cessation of missile tests and all weapons research — obviously very far-reaching steps. An initiative that might be better suited as an opener — especially now — would be the proclamation of a permanent American test ban, accompanied by all the inspection facilities the Russians have asked of us. Nothing could undercut more embarrassingly the Russian decision to resume testing. For all that, the actual sacrifice we would be making would be slight. For the arms race has clearly passed the stage at which the extensive testing of explosives is vital.

The initiative approach has become the rallying point for the disarmament movement. TOCSIN, the CNVA, the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation have all taken up the plan. But in any discussion of this approach, one soon develops a heated debate between those who want the initiatives to be "reversible" and those who want them to be "irreversible." The argument is a critical one.

NOW no doubt mutual fear makes its contribution to the arms race. But suppose it is not the only factor involved. The Russian people are surely not bogey men, but their leaders may be conscienceless opportunists. One must seriously consider the possibility that they will not reciprocate our initiatives, that instead they will use them to steal a march on us. What then? How many initiatives do we try before we turn back? If the public has been led to believe that our initiatives will be requited, that this is the whole intention of our policy, how long will it pursue this course if its expectations are disappointed? There are voices in the land that would fight such policy from the moment it received the least official recognition — and they would grow louder each day reciprocation was delayed.

And suppose we did turn back. Would that be the end of unilateralism? No doubt it would, and a public that had seen its hopes dashed — egged on by the "I-told-you-sos" of the militarists and hard-liners — would return to the arms race with redoubled energy; for now we would have to make up for lost time. Worse still, if we had sacrificed anything like a significant advantage to the enemy, it would be at exactly this point — when we announced our intention of returning to the race — that we would be vulnerable to preemptive attack. For now the Russians would be as far ahead of us as

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they could expect to get: it would be "now or never." The temptation would be great and many of us would not willingly trust our own military to forego it.

Those who support the initiative approach are often quite myopic about these dangers. They speak vaguely of "reconsidering our decision" should the Russians not respond favorably to our action. Such phrases are meant to gloss over the difference between those favoring reversible and irreversible initiatives and thus to create a broader front for political action. But the problem remains. If the initiatives are reversible, we are staking everything on immediate reciprocation by the Russians, for the reversible-initiative approach is not apt to survive its first unrequited experiment. If the initiatives are irreversible, we are striking out toward unilateral disarmament. And that gives rise to problems that had best be discussed and prepared for well in advance.

I myself feel very strongly that the Russians would reciprocate our initiatives even if these were sweeping and irreversible, and that a favorable atmosphere for negotiation would emerge—if not immediately, then as soon as the Russians were convinced of, and had adjusted to, the honesty of our intentions. Their alternative would be to stand against a rising tide of world opinion both within and outside their society, while the West, progressively more liberated from its inhibiting military expenses and alliances, launched a massive economic and political offensive throughout the underdeveloped world. But one must in all honesty prepare for the worst. Unilateral initiatives, like any policy, must be thought out fully and all contingencies considered—even the most unpleasant.

FOR radical unilateralists—men like Jerome Frank, Erich Fromm and W. H. Ferry—unilateral initiatives are the road to unilateral disarmament. They want no stopping and no turning back. And what lies at the end of that road? In the eyes of their critics, it is thinly disguised surrender. But this charge is quite as unfair as it is to accuse the supporters of deterrence of planning the annihilation of the race.

What the radical unilateralists are working toward is a new conception of conflict and its resolution. Compared with the question they ask, the sophisticated strategies of the games theorists seem grotesquely primitive. They are asking what "victory" and "defeat" mean, what is it we want to defend and why? What have we to fear? What is the relationship of ends and means? The ethical orientation of the radical unilateralists is as old as the nonviolence of Mahavira and the Buddha. But their effort to organize nonviolence on a massive social scale places them on the frontiers of modern political thought.

The radical unilateralists begin with the conviction that the use of military force is simply anachronistic. In the games they play, violence is out of bounds. And yet, conflicts of interest and value exist. The Russians might very well be tempted by our initiatives to turn aggressive, to invade and occupy our land and others'. Thus, unless we are to sacrifice justice and abandon the world to the aggressive, we must discover new techniques of struggle: economic, moral, political and psychological techniques that do not destroy what they strive to defend. What is often ignored by its critics—with a persistence that is almost perverse—is that nonviolent resistance is as much a matter of resistance as it is of nonviolence.

Jerome Frank has defined the nonviolent approach as the ability

> to meet violence with calm courage and the willingness to accept suffering, without ceasing to resist, but also without hating the attacker. Violent behavior tends to elicit fear, hatred and counter-violence from the person attacked, and this, in turn, intensifies the attacker's zeal. The basic psychological insight of nonviolence is that if the victim remains unfrightened, calm and friendly, this inhibits the aggressor.

It is easy to dismiss this approach by saying it is "too idealistic"; that it demands too much of people (though, strangely enough, this is often said by those prepared to demand the highest conceivable sacrifice from the human race—the agony of war and universal extermination—in behalf of the ideals they hold dear). To be sure, nonviolent resistance is exacting. But it must be remembered, it is the pacifist's last resort, just as war is the non-pacifist's final recourse: both come into play after all other efforts have failed to settle the dispute.

For this reason, nonviolence must be understood as part of a comprehensive economic and diplomatic policy meant to prevent conflict short of man-to-man resistance. As a last resort, both war and nonviolence are extremely demanding, extremely costly. One must ask: Which is less costly? Which, under the circumstances, is the more appropriate technique? To take one example: is it "too idealistic" to suggest that the freedom of the West Berliners cannot be defended by military force without destroying the city—and most of Europe—with "tactical" atomic weapons? Is it being "too idealistic" to observe that there is no freedom without people?

As for the objection, so often heard, that nonviolence is only for saints, this is no more true than that war is only for heroes. Nonviolence, like war, is organized mass action—and in the mass, men take on characteristics they do not possess as individuals. Of the millions who followed Gandhi, a bare handful were "saintly" in any sense. For the most part, these were very ordinary and imperfect people, often enough capable and guilty of violence in private life, but now committed to a strategy they felt would work.

BUT would nonviolence work for us? This is the sticking point for most people. They have heard of Gandhi's *satyagraha* campaigns against the British. They have heard of the American Negro's struggle in the South against violent bigotry. But our conflict with the Russians is "different," they say. This is true enough—and it is a truism. Every historical conflict is different and each must be met with new tactics.

The use of nonviolent techniques against the Russians, if it came to that, would take the most extensive planning and training and organiza-

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tion—even as war does. It would require the total mobilization of our society. Needless to say, not even the skeleton of such mobilization plans exist today; and until the unilateralists can present something like an explicit blueprint for nonviolence, the whole argument for and against their strategy will remain the sort of abstract debate about human nature it usually is. I believe that only such detailed plans will ever make a cogent case for nonviolence. Some time soon the unilateralists must get lots of people with imagination and knowledge playing the game of nonviolent strategies.

Beyond this, they face many problems that are equally tough. They must plot out in detail the way from here to nonviolent policy through the tangled jungles of American politics, remembering that their brand of unilateralism cannot be adopted piecemeal: it requires the deep-reaching and simultaneous revision of all our defense and foreign policies. They must plan for nonviolent resistance on a world-wide basis, remembering our commitments to other peoples who cannot participate in this grand policy reappraisal, but who will feel its consequences.

Staggering problems, these. But here is the good fight waiting to be fought, the cause that will drag down our reason and humanity with it, if it is lost. Military force in our time kills women and children by the million. It burns alive the guilty and the innocent quite as mercilessly as the Nazi crematoria of World War II. It guts cities, blights the soil and air, turns our society into a garrison state, and corrupts the hearts of men. If we ask whether nonviolence will work, let us ask also whether military force will work. Will it work if what we wish to defend is an idea or an ideal, a way of life, our own decency as men? Will it defend anything that deserves to be called civilized life? If these things matter, they must also figure in our strategies.

THE LEGION INVADES a CAMPUS . . *by Edward R. Cain*

State University, Brockport, N.Y. LAST SPRING *The New York Times* ran an ad calling for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Since our student body had been lethargic in responding to both the Negro sit-in movement and the Peace Corps, some of us teachers thought the faculty might pick up the ball on this issue. Without too much effort, we secured thirty faculty names to a one-sentence petition to our Congressman, Harold Ostertag, calling for the abolition of HUAC as a standing committee.

Responses to requests for signatures ran from an obliging "Now this won't get me into any trouble, will it?" to "Writing Ostertag! Why, you might as well write Santa Claus." Congressman Ostertag replied as most Congressmen do when faced with controversial issues: "pleased to hear from you; glad to learn your views; sorry I can't agree with them." Our crusade seemed to be whimpering to its inevitable end. Anyway, it was the eve of the spring break.

While spending the Easter holiday in Boston, I received a telephone call from a colleague at Brockport. Congressman Ostertag had sent our faculty petition to the district commander of the American Legion in nearby Rochester. The Legion had photostated copies of faculty signatures and circulated them among local Legionnaires. Telephone calls to the college president had come in from Washington, New York City and Indianapolis, wanting to know what he was doing about the Reds on campus.

The president called in our department chairman and wanted to know what was going on (nobody had bothered to tell the president about the petition). All during the ten-day Easter vacation, his office was harassed by inquiries from indignant Legionnaires. In a subsequent interview with him, he told me why he didn't want to antagonize the Legion: he feared that it might retaliate by campaigning against the next state educational bond issue. (In small towns, the Legion is believed to have considerable influence in local politics — at least, Congressman Ostertag has always found this to be true and quite an asset to him.)

Since the administration was particularly concerned because stationery with the college's letterhead had been used for the petition, I was asked to write letters to Congressman Ostertag and to the regional Legion office reassuring them that the petition did not represent an official faculty position, but merely the opinion of certain individual members.

About three days later, the president called me to say that some non-local police officer had asked his secretary for an appointment the following day. He did not know what kind of police was involved, and speculation ranged from a HUAC investigator to the FBI. It turned out to be the New York State Bureau of Criminal Intelligence. Two investigators arrived. One interrogated the president in his office for over two hours and then swore him to secrecy; the other roamed the campus and quizzed students about faculty who had signed the petition. Before they left, the investigators demanded files from the president's office on all thirty signatures. Upon calling state university officials in Albany, the president learned he had to comply with the demand.

Evidently the combined pressure of a Congressman and the American Legion had been effective enough to launch a state police investigation of state university faculty. No charges were made against any of us other than that we had signed the peti-

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tion. The police did complain that thirteen of the signatures were illegible. This, at least, proved the petition's academic authenticity.

Meanwhile, I wrote letters both to Congressman Ostertag and the Rochester Legion chief inviting either or both to debate the issue of the House Committee's continued existence before our Campus Round Table. The Congressman declined, but the Legion responded by inviting me to appear following a showing, sponsored by the county Civil Defense director, of the film *Operation Abolition* at the local Legion hall. I was offered equal time to speak on the program with an unannounced proponent of the film. I accepted.

At this point, the Rochester press stepped in, demanding to know more about the petition. Our college president had been told by the state legal division to refer all questions to them at Albany. So, when reporters could get nothing from him, they called the president of the state university in Albany. Apparently ignorant of the information blackout imposed by the Bureau of Criminal Intelligence, his immediate reaction was to tell the reporters that the local college president could tell them whatever they wanted to know; at the same time, he reaffirmed the faculty's right to petition as individuals. This development was embarrassing to our local president, of course, and somewhat compromised the reassurances that had been given to the faculty.

THE BROCKPORT paper carried a notice from the American Legion stressing the importance of the impending meeting and urging all the faithful to "Come and defend the liberties you fought for." The speaker for the American Legion was still not identified.

The morning before the scheduled debate, the local Legion chieftain stopped by at my office. He arrived with the officious air of a lieutenant assigned to spadework at Panmunjum. Our salutations were followed by his solemn guarantee of my "safe conduct through the lines." Quite a willing talker, he told me that a speech I had given a fortnight earlier before the St. Luke's Episcopal women's group on "Christianity and communism" had been taken down in shorthand by a Legionnaire's wife and sent into Rochester headquarters. He hastened to add that he liked the speech.

Apologetically, he explained that this whole "investigation" was not the idea of the local Post, but was being carried out at the order of higher-ups. He spoke of the Rochester commander's having been peeved at a "slurring" remark I had made in a letter to the effect that he was not as smart as the college professors. The only phrase in my brief note to the commander that could possibly have been misconstrued was: "Sorry you do not share our concern about this violation of civil liberties."

I asked my interlocutor if we couldn't have a joint meeting with the students on campus: the sophomore English class had been doing a propaganda study on *Operation Abolition*, and they might have some interesting questions. No. I was told that if we had a joint meeting on campus, there might be riots "just like in the film." Instead, we would be guaranteed twelve seats for faculty at the Legion hall. It was explained that there were only 150 seats. As for students, only those who were Legion members would be seated.

MY VISITOR'S most alarming disclosure was the content of a letter he had received from a "higher authority" (whether this "authority" was Legion headquarters or our Congressman's office was not made clear). The letter reminded the local Post that it was its duty to keep a check on radicals and subversives on the college staff. (I might add at this point that in 1958 our college dean had run against Congressman Ostertag and had given him quite a fright.)

Many students were incensed at their exclusion from the meeting. The local paper played up this angle, reporting that about 350 men students planned to attempt to enter the Legion hall. "Thirty state troopers were ready to report if necessary, including three cars from Clarkson; the sheriff's department was poised for a call; and the Brockport police were ready" (both of them).

As a colleague put it to me: "Imagine your being able to incite 350 students to riot! You can't even get them to open their books." A few of us did circulate among the students and reassure them that they would get to hear the debate later from a tape recording we planned to make. Student interest was encouraging. Reports of Legionnaires harassing faculty and the intervention of the state BCI (often confused with FBI) were the talk of the campus.

THE NIGHT of the debate, an air of studied decorum prevailed. No questions were to be allowed from the floor.

The Legion standard-bearer for the evening was unveiled as Daniel J. O'Connor, Secretary of the Department of Investigation of New York City. He was also state chairman of the Legion's Americanism Committee and, according to the press, former chief legal counsel to Senator McCarthy. It tickled me to think that the Legion was paying the freight for such heavy artillery.

I gave the standard criticism of the spliced-truth of *Operation Abolition* drawn mostly from the critique of the National Council of Churches. Mr. O'Connor rallied J. Edgar Hoover to his support. Our exchanges over the abolition of HUAC were revealing. Mr. O'Connor emphatically insisted that the committee's charges of Communist infiltration of the leadership of the National Council of Churches had never been disproved. I felt the strategic advantage in the debate was mine. Legionnaire O'Connor was giving the boys what they wanted and expected; I gave them some unexpected arguments, drawn mostly from Robert Carr's scholarly study of the committee. Some among the audience, I felt, learned for the first time that there might be two sides to the question.

In reporting the debate, the Brockport paper introduced its garbled version with "Dr. Cain, who said that he is a liberal Democrat and supports 'many issues that the Communists do'. . . ." We finally got the

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editor to publish the full context of my remarks at this point:

> I oppose the House Committee as a liberal Democrat and don't consider myself any further to the Left. I support many projects that the Communists have supported. So have you. You have supported Veterans' Bonus Bills and Veterans' Housing. So has the Communist Party. The thing I am afraid of is that the Communists will come out in favor of the Anti-Polution Bill for the Genesee River. Then we will really have a problem. Just because they support something doesn't mean we have to keep away from it. You have to fight for your own reasons.

The editor's bias in reporting the debate prompted the sole Republican member of our department on campus to write the paper a castigating letter defending my position. The full letter was printed and followed by the following gratuitous editorial comment:

> . . . We feel that the . . . professors who signed the petition, as learned people, should have realized the embarassment [sic] that would befall them by doing so. If they would concentrate their knowledge and abilities on their classroom teaching they wouldn't have to worry about what the HUAC, the townspeople, country newspaper editors, the American Legion, the B.C.I., etc. thought.

Life can be simple. It comes easier to some people than to others.

THIS episode at Brockport raises some disquieting questions for the civic conscience. First, does a Congressman have the moral right to deliver his constituents' petition to an antagonistic pressure group without consulting the petitioners, especially when he knows the petition will be used as a blacklist? Second, is the American Legion taken as seriously as we tell ourselves, or is it time to cry out "The Emperor Has No Clothes!"? Finally, who will circulate the next petition here? Probably me, but who'll sign it?

U.S. vs. USSR: AUTOMATION RACE . . *by David Binder*

"WITHIN five or ten years, the United States will have to compete with the Soviet system that can make economic decisions faster than we can, that can produce as much or more than we can." This is the conclusion of Paul C. Rosenbloom, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Minnesota, who bases his prediction on an analysis of the Soviet crash program in automation, a program announced five years ago at the Twentieth Party Congress by Premier Khrushchev and reaffirmed this summer in the new Communist Party program.

The goal is automation of the Soviet economy, and to accomplish it, the Soviet Union is today going through a veritable Second Revolution. The party leadership has realized that automation—in factories, in fields and in national planning—is the key to that economic growth which Khrushchev recently called "the most formidable weapon in the hands of the Soviet Union"—the weapon that will guarantee "unquestionable superiority over all leading capitalist nations."

In fact, the new party program virtually equates communism with automation. This equation is all the more surprising when one considers that the whole scientific and technological foundation of automation was treated as the most evil of heresies under Stalin.

Although the Second Revolution had its beginnings during the Stalin period, it was not until Khrushchev took power that it was given an official blessing. Under the present regime, highly-placed planning officials have been toppled, traditional economic control organs have been dissolved and old lines of authority have been smashed.

AUTOMATION means more than control devices and computers; we (and the Russians) are beginning to learn that all that is automatic is not necessarily automation. We are learning, for example, that it is not enough to automate the production line of a factory. Efficient operation also requires automation of the supply of raw materials and of the distribution of finished products; it requires a reserve of trained technicians and programers to run the system; and, finally, reorganization of factory management to cope with the new system.

In short, true automation, whether on a local or a national scale, calls for the integration of many seemingly diverse social, technical and economic elements—a total approach that encompasses the circular nature of automated processes. True automation is a kind of perpetual motion, and in this respect it is as much a concept, an attitude, as it is a better way to make piston rings.

In its breadth and thoroughness, the Soviet automation program shows evidence of this totality of approach. The agenda includes the parallel development of sophisticated computers and self-adapting control devices (machines that "learn" to correct their own errors); the schooling of specialists in automation-related fields, such as semantics, modal logic, information theory and linguistics; rapid expansion of exploration in the field of mathematical economics as applied to planning; re-training of workers made redundant by mechanization, and the establishment of a series of regional data-processing centers for the control of economic development.

At the same time, the Soviet government has instituted a number of organizational reforms in the economic-planning apparatus and in the administration of science.

Broadly speaking, the first reform was a shift from the old Stalinist system of highly centralized control of the economy through the State Planning Committee and a group of

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Moscow-based industrial ministries to a decentralized, "territorial" form of control. The reform began in 1957 and it is still going on. As recently as May 28, the Soviet Union was re-divided into seventeen economic areas, none of which has a population exceeding 25,000,000. Each area is administered by a regional economic council that is closely tied to the government of the republic. The automation element in this reform is represented by the fact that the regional economic administrators are served by 164 data-processing centers spread across the country, but linked together by the Central Statistical Administration in Moscow.

The reorganization of the Soviet scientific apparatus came in April, when the Academy of Sciences was divested of thirty research institutes that had been working on problems of application. Henceforth, the Academy will concentrate on research in pure science, while applied science, and research on specific technological assignments (including automation processes), are administered by the new State Committee for Coordinating Scientific Research, which is directly under the Council of Ministers.

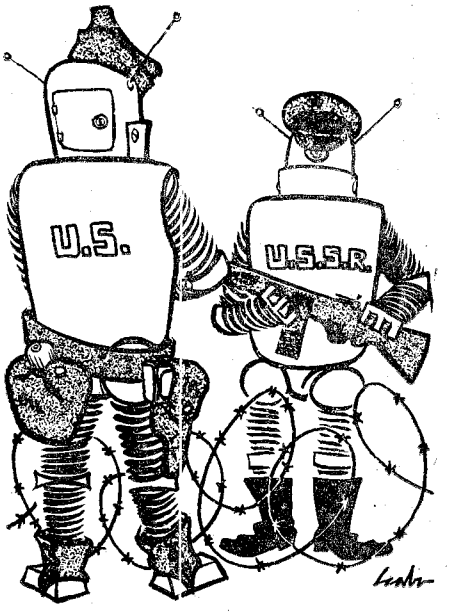
THE KEY element in automation, the development of computers, had gotten under way in the Soviet Union about 1948, with the completion of the necessary theoretical groundwork and basic research. This was a period when the Russians were busy translating American computer studies in an effort to catch up with us in the field. The first Russian computer, the MESM, was designed and built about 1950 at Kiev by a team led by Sergei A. Lebedev. About this time, the government began establishing a series of institutes and training centers devoted to automation (there are now a dozen such institutes). Meanwhile, special stipends were provided for students who specialized in computer mathematics and leading mathematicians were persuaded to switch fields in order to aid the crash program.

The USSR's first application of computers was in the field of weapons, particularly rockets. The dazzling success of Soviet space shots since 1957 has amply demonstrated Soviet progress along these lines. On the civilian side, the Soviet program envisions the systematic automation of factory assembly lines. At last report, the goal was 1,300 fully automated factories by 1965; presumably this has since been revised upward. According to a recent article in *Socialist Labor*, the principal area of concentration for automated factories is Siberia, where, because of the sparse work force available, they are most needed.

SUCH IS the essence of the Second Revolution. While Americans familiar with our own sophisticated advances in automated processes and machines may sniff at certain aspects of the Russians' progress—or lack of it—in the field, there is no denying that their program is well ahead of ours in such matters as the retraining of workers, the schooling of technicians and the systematic coordination of production. This is not surprising. The Soviet system, with its centralized controls and ability to marshal all human and physical resources toward a single objective, is better suited to such a program than our own system. Coordination of production in the United States, for example, could be achieved only by voluntary efforts on the part of private industries—highly unlikely in our free-enterprise establishment.

Nevertheless, the United States is in the midst of much the same sort of technological revolution as the Soviet Union. The difference is that we started about ten years before the Russians. The first electronic computers were developed and used here during the war by men like John von Neumann, Vannevar Bush, Claude Shannon and Norbert Wiener. The techniques of mathematical economics known as input-output analysis and linear programing (mathematical methods for achieving the optimal allocation of a limited number of resources) were first applied here.

Why did the Soviets start so late? After all, it was a Soviet mathematician, Leonid Kantorovich, who invented the theory of linear programing in 1939. But the Russians never applied his theory until a few years ago. In large measure, what held the



Russians back was the stultifying strictures of Marxist ideology.

It is ironic that the Soviet Union, the avowed homeland of scientific socialism, whose "Marxist-Leninist world view shows the right way for scientific work in the natural sciences," frustrated with fusty dogmas the development of the sciences that make automation possible. The catalogue of frustration is remarkable. Formal logic and its modern child, mathematical logic, essential in designing the "logic" of electronic computers, were dismissed by the Communist Party in the 1930s as "metaphysical" and "bourgeois." The few Soviet scholars who persisted in the field had to do so "almost surreptitiously," according to Prof. Rosenbloom. Only after World War II was the ban lifted sufficiently to permit Soviet scholars to catch up with Western advances.

A related ban was that on "cybernetics," or control theory, a science developed by Norbert Wiener. According to David Comey of St. Lawrence University, "A few years ago there was a dramatic and sudden shift of the official Soviet attitude toward cybernetics. Until that shift, the term 'cybernetics' and the name of Norbert Wiener had been virtually swear words. After the shift they became very much 'in'."

A third science condemned by the Communists as anathema was mathematical economics, also known as econometrics. In 1930, the mathe-

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matical economists were purged as "wreckers" and "counterrevolutionaries," and their teachings were regarded as heresies for nearly thirty years. Not until 1958 did men like Kantorovich, A. A. Markov, A. A. Liapunov and A. N. Kolmogorov achieve a breakthrough for linear programing and input-output analysis, and then only under severe attack. Today, these theories have achieved wide acceptance, and are being applied successfully in specific industries as well as on a regional basis. According to an article by A. Yefimov in the March issue of *Kommunist*, the time when the Soviets will apply linear programing on a national scale is not far off.

Running parallel to the ban on econometrics was that on statistical analysis. Statistical secrecy went so far that a leading Russian economist, writing a book on planning in 1952, was obliged to use statistics from the year 1925, the latest available data. Finally, in 1956, the party's Central Committee published a report, signed by Anastas Mikoyan, condemning the Central Statistical Administration for keeping its data "under seven seals." Since then, economic statistics have been made public and economists are using the material for more rational planning.

Khrushchev, with his pragmatic dynamism, must be given the credit for breaking up the log-jam which Stalinist dogma had created in the mainstream of science. But it must not be thought that Khrushchev's reforms have solved all problems. When Soviet factory managers boast to the press of "fully automated assembly lines," more than likely there is some point in their manufacturing process where work is still done by primitive manual methods. On a broader scale, the Russians suffer from improper distribution of raw materials. A recent article in *Kommunist* cited the case of the Moscow Economic Council, which received only half the amount of rolled pipe allotted to it. On the other side of the ledger, there was the case of the Estonian Republic, which received a large shipment of gauges for measuring fat content in milk—gauges it had not sought and did not need.

The Soviets are trying to mend this situation by establishing inter-industry warehouses and plants to guarantee steady supplies of materials among the regional economic councils. However, the *Kommunist* article disclosed that even here, the old battle between the centralizers and the decentralizers is going on. Meanwhile, a campaign against cheating on production reports has had to be intensified.

Despite these difficulties, despite the whole catalogue of Soviet shortages, despite the continued use of obsolete equipment and old-fashioned methods, the Soviet economy is growing—currently at a rate of 8.4 per cent annually. And the prospects for future growth are favorable.

At a time when East and West are brandishing fists over Berlin, it is well to remember that Khrushchev's "favorite weapon," with its vast potentials for trade warfare, technical aid and financial assistance to underdeveloped countries, may have more significance than the Soviet arsenal of rockets and bombs. Prof. Rosenbloom remarks that the tools of automation are the same on either side of the iron curtain—computers, control theory and armies of mathematicians. He concludes, "The question of whether as Khrushchev says, the Russians will 'bury us,' depends on whether we can organize adequately the use of these tools in a democratic society—and in time."

Selling Militarism to America (PART II) . . *by Stanley Meisler*

In an article which appeared last week, Mr. Meisler—a wire-service newsman stationed in Washington—described the public relations set-up of our armed forces as "unequaled in private life," and detailed the manner in which it operates on military personnel and on communities situated near military bases. In this second and concluding article, the author completes his picture of the operations of this multi-million-dollar propaganda machine.—EDITORS

THE CAPTURE of military personnel, and of key civilians, is vital to a Pentagon publicist, but his more exciting, perhaps more significant, work centers on the capture of the mass media—Hollywood, television, the press, even the comics. The Department's Office of News Services has an Audio-Visual Division which, among its other duties, sees to it that some movies and television shows have good chunks of military propaganda. The division examines scripts and then lends aid to those deemed worthy of cooperation from the Department of Defense.

Cooperation can save a producer a good deal of money. Indeed, if he plans a movie based almost entirely on the activities of the armed services, cooperation can determine whether he will have a movie at all. For a producer clutching a script blessed by the division, the services may provide military equipment that he can't get elsewhere: modern tanks, weapons, ships, planes. An officer, acting as technical adviser to insure the movie's authenticity, often is sent along. The services will not stage battle scenes for a movie maker, but they will invite him to film maneuvers or naval exercises. If the producer needs a few soldiers, sailors, or airmen for individual scenes, the Defense Department will give them leave to turn actor—at minimum Hollwood rates—for a few days. In addition, the services will supply non-classified documentary films of battles and maneuvers to fill some of the gaps in the movie.

The department has guide lines to determine which movies deserve cooperation; basically, the production must benefit the department and the services. The Audio-Visual Division applies the guide lines with flexibility. Comedies that twit the services usually receive cooperation under the theory that most people in the au-

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dience understand the ribbing is all in fun. In serious dramatic fare, the division worries about total effect, rather than individual scenes, and often asks producers for some kind of balance. Should the movie highlight a villainous officer, the division, before it allots tanks, may demand that one or two of the good guys be an officer, too. The Navy, for example, cooperated with the makers of *The Caine Mutiny*. Officials felt that the tyrannical, unbalanced Captain Queeg was offset by some of the young, intelligent and sincere other officers: in total effect, officials decided, the movie was favorable to the Navy. *The Gallant Hours, I Aim at the Stars, GI Blues, Men into Space, Blue Angels* and *The Patton Story* are other movies and TV series produced with Pentagon help.

IT IS HARD to criticize the Department of Defense for refusing to cooperate with producers who want to turn out movies injurious to the Army, Navy or Air Force. A question arises, however, when the department denies cooperation not because the movie is anti-armed services, but because its political or social implications are not acceptable to the Pentagon. Here, again, the military drenches itself in politics. Stanley Kramer was unable to obtain full cooperation for his movie *On the Beach*. Bertram Kalisch, chief of the Audio-Visual Division, said the Pentagon felt the movie, based on the Nevil Shute novel, was "defeatist" and therefore contrary to government policy. Actually, the movie was more anti-nuclear war than defeatist and, to this extent, in strict accord with official government policy, which is that the United States does not want a nuclear war. The Pentagon objected to *On the Beach* not because it crossed *government* policy, but because its message might stir sentiment for disarmament and thus cross *Pentagon* policy.

Because of Kramer's standing as a producer, the Pentagon did offer him some minor help, but he did not need it to produce the movie. With the cooperation of the Australian Navy and the many millions an artist of his caliber can command, Kramer gave the world *On the Beach*. A lesser producer with less money might not have been able to do so without massive help from the Pentagon. In a sense, the decision to lend or refuse cooperation, particularly when some producers alter their script to meet Pentagon complaints, is a kind of censorship.

AMONG the millions of men who man our defenses, it is difficult to imagine any spending most of their time bolstering comic strips. But Louis Kraar of *The Wall Street Journal*, one of the most perceptive and thorough of all the newsmen who cover the Pentagon, has reported: "While no military publicity men are assigned strictly to backing up comic strips, many often spent a lot of their working hours doing just that. For the services, the 'right' comic strip can do double duty as an animated recruiting poster and as a vivid support for budget requests." The right comic strips for the Air Force are *Steve Canyon* and *Terry and the Pirates;* for the Navy, *Buz Sawyer* and *Thorn McBride*. The Army isn't blessed with any.

Milton Caniff, supplied faithfully with Air Force information, returns the favor by using his hero, *Steve Canyon,* to fight for Air Force programs. Any Air Force propaganda mouthed by *Steve Canyon* reaches Americans through 625 newspapers. When the Eisenhower administration cut back the B-70 program, a Caniff strip read one day:

> *Steve:* Captain, what happened to the BX-71?
>
> *Captain:* Oh, nothing went wrong with the vehicle itself, Col. Canyon. But I'm afraid your job has been "reoriented." The money boys bailed the bird out from under you. The BX-71 program has been cut back to save money. Your hardware returns to the shelf. I—I'm truly sorry, old man.
>
> *Steve:* I guess it won't really matter! If the Russians send a few Roman Candles at us some cloudy night . . . we'll make a formal protest in the U.N. the next day—if we can only find the pieces of the building.

Caniff told Kraar that no pressure was applied or needed for him to do his BX-71 strip. "I just knew how important the B-70 program was and that they were fighting to produce it," he said.

George Wunder, who draws *Terry and the Pirates,* has gone even further than this for the Air Force. When the Air Force was feuding with Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R., Me.), mainly because of her refusal to approve the public relations gimmick of promoting actor Jimmy Stewart to a general in the reserve, Wunder introduced a new character to his strip. She was "Congresswoman Dolores Deepsix," a notorious, penny-pinching, hardened legislator who spent a good deal of her time harassing the Air Force and obstructing some of its most vital programs. The Dolores Deepsix episode was part of a well-coordinated campaign against Mrs. Smith, which also included anti-Smith comment by a radio commentator and a syndicated columnist. "Unavoidably, Ter-

STEVE CANYON
8 29
THE PROJECT HARDNOSE CANDIDATES ARE PLUNGED AT ONCE INTO THE INTRICATE ROUTINE OF ACCELERATED TEST-PILOT QUALIFICATION
THERE IS NO TIME FOR FANCY PRELIMINARIES! YOU WILL BE GIVEN A SORT OF PREP SCHOOL ON SPACE CRAFT AND SPACE TRAVEL...
BUZ SAWYER
THE COMMUNISTS ARE GREAT BLUFFERS. LIKE TO GET PEOPLE'S NERVES ON EDGE. IT'S PART OF THEIR TERRORIST TACTICS.
TERRY
8 29
THE SOVIET PICKET SHIP BLINKERS A SURRENDER DEMAND IN INTERNATIONAL CODE TO THE DC-6 SURVIVORS ON THE TINY ATOLL.
THIS IS A COMICAL FELLA, SARGE.. HE WANTS US TO SHOW OURSELVES ON THE BEACH!
GEORGE WUNDER

Field Enterprises, Inc. King Features The Chicago Tribune

The Air Force likes Steve Canyon *and* Terry; *the Navy likes* Buz Sawyer.

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ry's adventures are propaganda for air power and preparedness," Wunder told Kraar, "but these are things I believe in strongly."

Several years ago, the Navy almost lost *Buz Sawyer,* when its artist, Roy Crane, grew tired of sea adventures and decided to take his hero into the life of a private citizen. The fearful Navy publicity men launched a massive campaign, Kraar relates, and persuaded seamen throughout the country to write Crane and tell him how much *Buz Sawyer* meant to them. In addition, the Navy invited Crane to a tour of the Pacific fleet. Crane changed his mind and kept Sawyer in the Navy. Since then, the Navy has been busy supplying him with enough dramatic material to make sure that he doesn't tire of naval life any more. Recently, Kraar points out, Crane had the run of an anti-submarine warfare ship for two weeks. The result was an anti-submarine warfare episode in his strip that coincided with a successful Navy campaign to win more funds for anti-submarine warfare.

Last year a second comic strip emerged to help fight the Navy's battles at sea and in the public arena. The Copley Newspapers started distributing *Thorn McBride,* the story of the commander of an atomic submarine. The Navy League rewarded James S. Copley, chairman of the Copley Newspapers, for this and other favors by presenting him with the Rear Admiral William S. Parsons Award for Inspirational Civilian Leadership.

ON THE second floor of the Pentagon, facing the Potomac River, a long, rectangular room is filled every day with two dozen men, of varying skills and intelligence, who make up the single most important target of the military public relations establishment. The room is the Pentagon press room, and the men are the few American newsmen who spend all their working time covering military news. They represent the Associated Press, United Press International, *The New York Times,* the New York *Herald Tribune, The Washington Post,* the *Washington Star, The Wall Street Journal,* the Chicago *Tribune,* the Cleveland *Plain Dealer, Time, Newsweek* and a few other newspapers and trade magazines. Although other newsmen nose around the Pentagon from time to time and often come up with an incisive story or two, these two dozen in the news room, by and large, form the image of the military that reaches the American people through the press.

THE Pentagon publicity men, who work across the hall, must court these newsmen, answer their questions, direct them to sources of news and, hopefully, instill a military point of view in their stories. One of the best ways to fulfill all these goals at once is to take the newsmen on a "junket." From time to time, with the military paying expenses, a newsman will find himself the guest of the Navy on a cruise of a nuclear submarine, or of the Army on maneuvers of the new anti-guerrilla warfare units, or of the Air Force on the flight of a B-52. For a newsman, these junkets can be invaluable. He has no other way to see the equipment and skills that he writes about every day in the Pentagon press room. At the same time, he may find it difficult to break through the cords of publicity men around him to get a meaningful look at all that is displayed. And, when he returns, he may find it difficult to write anything that might displease his kind military hosts. It takes a perceptive, hard-minded newsman to come through a junket without some bias in favor of his hosts.

In recent years, newsmen throughout the country have received free transportation to visit military installations all over the world. "It may surprise you to learn," Sylvester wrote an editor recently, "that there are cases of editors and newsmen who annually turn up in the spring with requests for government transportation to Europe — including Paris — on the basis of doing stories about our overseas installations. For many years the aviation writers of the U.S. have been carried on government planes to their national convention. . . . There have been many instances of large news-gathering organizations requesting transportation not only for one but two men to various places in the world where, if their news interest is legitimate, they can go by commercial transportation." Sylvester has revived an old directive which prohibits free transportation except under exceptional circumstances.

In summing up defense reporting, Joseph Alsop has said: "The tendency is to take government handouts. This is a very bad thing to do in the area of defense — more than in any other. In this area, government handouts are always and persistently mendacious. All government handouts lie; some lie more than others, I'm certain." The Pentagon's Office of News Services prepares 1,500 handouts a year, whipping them to the newsroom across the hall. Most of these handouts describe new weapons or announce new contracts or describe some upcoming events, and most newsmen in the press room deny that they depend on them. The AP and the UPI may use the handouts to send small stories on their regional teletypewriter circuits for newspapers interested in a particular contract. The trade magazines also use many of the handouts, for their readers in the defense industries want to know about contracts. But the military reporters like to get their stories by talking to people, not by reading handouts. For some reporters, particularly those representing influential newspapers, the handout often is replaced as a source of news by something far more interesting and complicated — the "news leak," the name for an exclusive story that comes from a source who can not be identified.

BECAUSE of the news leak, Washington newsmen have found themselves in some lively debate since the inauguration of Kennedy—a debate that obscures more than it clarifies. The new President and his Secretary of Defense periodically have denounced breaches of security or speculative news stories that, in the view of Kennedy and McNamara, aid the enemy. As a result, many news columns have been filled with arguments about security and secrecy and the conflict between national defense and freedom of the

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press, all ignoring, in the main, the real irritant and the real problem.

> We have an obligation, a responsibility, to the press and to the public to keep them informed on the activities of the Department [McNamara told the Senate Armed Services Committee last April 5]. At the same time, we certainly have a responsibility to withhold information that would be of great value to our potential enemies. . . . Why should we tell Russia that the ZEUS developments may not be satisfactory? What we ought to be saying is that we have the most perfect anti-ICBM system that the human mind will ever devise. Instead, the public domain is already full of statements that the ZEUS may not be satisfactory, that it has deficiencies. . . . I think it is absurd to release that kind of information for the public.

McNamara's point of view has been roundly denounced by the press, particularly since it implies that the Secretary wants newspapers not only to refrain from printing information harmful to his department, but to fill their columns with lies that delude the public as well as the Russians. In 1958, Joseph and Stewart Alsop, in their book *The Reporter's Trade*, dealt with arguments similar to that of McNamara, and their point of view probably reflects the views of most newsmen in Washington today:

> We have always believed that the American people have an absolute, unqualified right to know exactly where they stand at all times. We have further believed that it is the reporter's highest function to add, if he can, to the American people's knowledge of where they stand. . . . We are further convinced that 99/100s of the American government's secrecy has no other purpose but official convenience.

Unfortunately, sound arguments like these are wasted now, for much of the current hubbub over secrecy and security is unreal. While Kennedy and McNamara are jumping at newspapers for printing secrets, they really are angry at military leaders for leaking stories. An examination of two incidents that irked the President uncovers the heart of the controversy.

On February 27, Pentagon newsman Richard Fryklund and State Department newsman Earl H. Voss reported in the *Washington Star* that Secretary of State Dean Rusk had sent a memorandum to the Pentagon advocating a policy that "would sharply restrict the role of nuclear weapons in diplomacy and war." According to Fryklund and Voss, Rusk suggested that "even massive attacks on Europe should be met with conventional weapons." The two reporters had not seen the memorandum, but Air Force officers had given them a summary. The summary actually was a distortion of Rusk's view, which was that the United States must strengthen conventional forces while maintaining nuclear power. The officers had leaked a distorted version in hopes of discouraging the government and public from accepting Rusk's actual views, if he ever advanced them publicly.

This neat dodge gave Fryklund and Voss an exclusive story, the public a false picture of Rusk's views, and the Russians very little. Kennedy ordered an investigation, and the officers suspected of giving the story to the reporters were transferred from the Pentagon.

ON JULY 3, *Newsweek* published an accurate summary of a plan developed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to meet the Berlin crisis. The plan included several steps designed to show Russia that the United States would not yield an inch on Berlin: a limited emergency would be called, the draft would be increased, there would be some demonstration of American intent to use nuclear weapons if necessary. Publication in *Newsweek* angered Kennedy, for the plan appeared in the magazine before it reached the President's desk. It clearly had been leaked to the magazine by some Pentagon officials to force Kennedy into accepting it — if Kennedy ignored the advice, the public and Congress now would know that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, our top military minds, had advocated a military course that our civilian President had refused to follow.

In an unprecedented move, Kennedy ordered the FBI to investigate the *Newsweek* story and determine who had given it to the magazine. This investigation, still uncompleted, has humiliated the Pentagon and, perhaps, convinced other military men to forget the news leak and find some other publicity device to mold opinion.

THE unleashing of the FBI, and several of the McNamara directives mentioned in this survey, make clear that Kennedy is making an attempt to keep the Pentagon and its massive public relations establishment in line. "Our arms must be subject to ultimate civilian control and command at all times, in war as well as peace," Kennedy said on March 28 in a message to Congress.

The evidence so far indicates that Kennedy's civilian leaders are not afraid to issue orders to the military. But the methods of Kennedy and his administrators are more often oblique than direct. Using the tricks of power learned in Congress, Kennedy does not lash out at military publicity men, but whittles away at their sources of power. As a result, while Pentagon publicity men may be afraid these days to go too far, they do not always realize it is undemocratic to do so.

No one can expect the military to disband all its public relations programs. In the realities of Washington politics, every agency needs to create an image of itself that will draw funds from Congress. Otherwise even the most needed projects will wither for lack of money.

But the military publicity men, while doing their job of smoothing relations between the Department of Defense and Congress and the public, must be curbed far more than they have been by the Kennedy Administration. The dangers are real. According to UPI, the memorandum on right-wing military propaganda prepared for Senator Fulbright and sent to McNamara warned that while the parallel may seem farfetched, the revolt of the French generals in Algeria is "an example of the ultimate danger." The publicity men of the Pentagon are busy molding the thoughts of America to fit a military pattern. If the generals and admirals ever capture all public opinion, they would need nothing as crude as another "Algerian coup" to control America.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Communism's Ultima Thule

THE CHINESE COMMUNES. By Richard Hughes. Dufour Editions. 90 pp. $2.95.

James Cameron

TO SAY there has been a shortage of serious reporting from China in the past ten years is to oversimplify with almost Oriental delicacy; there has been just about none. It is not wholly the fault of the West, which cannot properly report on what it cannot see (or, we had better say, should not; there is more than enough *parti-pris* polemicizing from those whose knowledge of contemporary China goes at best as far as a quick peer across the Shum-chun River from Hong Kong). A few of us have gone a little further, tried a little harder; mostly the result was lost in the reverberations of the big gongs of the committed press.

Of all the subjects in China that have been confused with emotive and subjective argument, on both sides, the greatest must surely be the communes. They have been presented as everything from paradise to purgatory by writers, Communist or anti-Communist, who have never been able to consider them as other than symbolic.

Such a one is not Richard Hughes. His little book, *The Chinese Communes,* is the first straight job of analysis I have yet seen; indeed, it may well be the first yet published. It deserves the keenest attention from anyone who is interested either in contemporary China or in admirable journalism.

Richard Hughes is one of the institutions of Far Eastern journalism: the London *Sunday Times* man in Hong Kong. Many a less firmly based traveler —including myself, often—has been grateful for that massive and compassionate presence in one or other of the many rendezvous between Bangkok and Tokyo. When Richard Hughes analyzes the communes, he is to be taken seriously, since—unlike 99 per cent of those who do the same thing—he has seen them, or at any rate come nearest to seeing them. He was in China during 1956-57, when he saw several of the big cooperatives of which the communes were, he says, the logical development, and at least two of the original communal mess halls (near Shanghai and Urumchi), which he frankly took to be a temporary expedient. He has worked doggedly at his facts and syntheses and statistics. His conclusions have made an anti-commune book, but a *just* anti-commune book. He has tried, he says, "to avoid the pitfalls into which the extremes of black-and-white prejudice always lead. . . . Grey, unhappily, is usually the color of fog."

Communes are compulsory, for a start. Richard Hughes reluctantly rejects the pleasant picture of Chairman Mao, the father-figure from remote Peking, moving knee-deep through the rice, rapt and open-minded, nodding gravely while the peasant women plead to hand over their cooking gear to the mess hall and their children to the nursery so that they may work full time in the factory, while the young men plead to be allowed to drill in the militia before and after work; and finally acknowledging: "Comrades! You have persuaded me. You shall have your Communes. . . ."

He quotes the bible-of-theory, *Red Flag,* as saying: "We must undermine the family, built on the class exploitation system." And he accepts that to the party mind, the communes have brought the country closer to the ultimate stage of communism than any other land on earth. He justifies all his theses with reasonable argument and fair figures. Now and again, but not often, he slips into an unworthily pejorative word like the "insectivised" communities of Kwangtung, not impossibly through too hasty reference to his *Sunday Times* carbons.

THE COMMUNES were not established without trouble; notoriously there were unruliness and difficulty in the faraway northwest province of Sinkiang. But, says Richard Hughes,

> . . . the word "revolt" has been recklessly used in some wishful-thinking Western reports. It is an exaggeration. . . . The Sinkiang objections to Communes never approached the futile revolutionary demonstrations by the Tibetans. Curiously, the Party cadres seem to have run into trouble with the non-Chinese minorities in Sinkiang when they began to "tidy up" the Communes, operating the flexible principle of appeasement and rectification, compromises and long-range reforms, which have proved effective in the Han Communes.

The whole thing takes me back, parenthetically, to the strange talk I myself had, some three years before, with the then Minister of Agriculture,

JAMES CAMERON, chief foreign correspondent of the London News Chronicle *until that paper's demise last year, is the author of* Mandarin Red *(Rinehart).*

A Small Grain of Worship

O most august
and sacred host,
so do I turn and fade,

a candle in your light,
burnt to the quick;
you know I offered you my best,

hours, minutes, days, years spent
to proffer a small grain
of worship, incense,

my last breath (I thought)
to assemble in my song,
lines competent to praise,

of shame no taint, no *noms démoniaques*
invoked, no fallen angel
called by name;

now I am forced to hold my lines in
doubt,
give me the answer,
let me know your grace,

whose is the Judgment?
there is One
indifferent to the realm of time and
space,

Azrael; ironic and subtle in his smile,
near and familiar is his face,
(are his eyes amber?)

"is this your throw with Death?
right, left?
win, lose?

you court the end?
you call this life?
your rose so red

is bondage, stamp and seal,
you asked, 'I am judged prisoner?'
you spoke of Asmodel,

your rose so red
withers in any case,
renouncement? *feu d'enfer?*

now choose,
right, left,
win, lose."

H. D.

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Liao Liu-Yen. Perhaps because I was the first Western correspondent he had ever seen, or perhaps because life was different then, anyhow, *his* argument was an uninhibited criticism of the precipitate collectivization practiced in the European Communist states. "China's methods are more cautious," he said, "more flexible, based on the readily admitted principle that all peasants are cagey and reactionary, even liberated ones, and Chinese ones more than most. We could have plunged them all into collectivization—and the drop in production would have ruined us."

Well, times clearly changed. And to see how you have to read Hughes. There isn't anyone else.

Paradoxes of Medical Progress

DOCTORS, PATIENTS, AND HEALTH INSURANCE. By Herman Miles Somers and Anne Ramsay Somers. The Brookings Institution. 576 pp. $7.50.

George A. Silver

THE thoughtful citizen has reason to rejoice in the publication of this book. For some time now a growing awareness of the medical care problem in the United States has been evident from popular discussions in newspapers, magazines and books. There is no argument as to the progress of medicine itself: it is apparent in increased longevity, declining death rates, phenomenal new cures and surgical procedures. The problem is the organization and distribution of medical service.

But current discussions, however numerous, tend to address themselves to what the author conceives as *the* defect which prevents the majority of Americans from enjoying the fruits of modern medicine: it may be hospital costs, the doctor shortage, rising costs of physician care, the AMA or solo practice. Not since Michael Davis' *Medical Care for Tomorrow*, published in 1955, has a factual analysis been written of the whole problem in all its complexity.

The Somerses offer a scholarly book, staggeringly documented, yet written with style and absorbingly interesting. To forestall a charge of personal interest, I should announce my own investment in this book — I am credited with an assist in the acknowledgments. I do not think this modest participation influences the objectivity with which I state that the book is a landmark in social medicine. From "The Paradox of Medical Progress," the opening chapter so aptly named, through "Organization: The Perilous Imperative," "The 'Traditional' Relationship: Myth and Reality" to "Technological Change and Institutional Response," the intricate details of organization and structure of medical practice are examined, the professional problems outlined and conclusions drawn.

Very often simplification actually obscures issues. *Doctors, Patients, and Health Insurance* does not simplify to that extent — it explores each of the factors that contribute to the complexity and, by explaining the background and opposing elements, makes evident both the current need and the current direction. For example, a discussion of the rising costs of Blue Cross, and the increasing failure of the plan to meet social needs, makes obvious the difficulty of the "honest broker" who is a captive of professional interests:

> As the stakes are very high, Blue Cross finds itself increasingly pressured from many directions. On the one hand, many large group purchasers and state insurance commissioners — like Smith of Pennsylvania and Thacher of New York — facing repeated requests for rate increases, are prodding Blue Cross to assume responsibility for consumer interests in relation to hospital practices affecting costs. On the other side, the AHA, local hospitals, the behind-the-scenes influence of the AMA, and public inertia all reinforce its historical role as fiscal agent of the hospitals.

And a possible solution

> . . . calls for a merger of Blue Cross and Blue Shield into one broad hospital-surgical-medical prepayment organization with effective authority over local units.

Furthermore, the analysis considers the contribution to the dilemma of patient and doctor as well as institution:

> . . . it appears that the growing demand for hospital care is warranted by its increased technological importance in modern medicine, by the frequent necessity for hospitalization of the aged, and by the backlog of need on the part of many people to whom it was denied until fairly recently. To some extent, however, demand has been artificially raised by the greater availability of hospital beds as compared to outpatient facilities and alternative community services, by the financial need of hospitals to maintain maximum occupancy rates, by the frequent limitation of insurance to hospitalized illness, by inadequate physician and consumer appreciation of the importance of preventive medicine and comprehensive care, and by the failure of large segments of the medical profession to discourage hospital use where it was not medically in order.
>
> What is indicated is a rationalized system of community and regional hospital facilities with the general hospital as specialized center of a network of appropriate medical and paramedical institutions. Such a system, long advocated by leading hospital and medical authorities, could relieve the financial pressure on the inevitably expensive general hospital without denying the legitimate demands of doctors and patients alike.

In the same way, the grave problems of drug costs and drug use are seen as aspects of medical practice, of inadequate control and mushrooming development, as well as of greedy corporate policy. There is no question that drug-manufacture supervision and prescribing should be under sharp federal control.

THE authors call attention to the increasing role of non-physicians in the health profession: 2.5 million laymen, compared with 250,000 doctors, are engaged in the health services industry. This important development makes it necessary to reconsider the relative roles of physicians and other health workers, and perhaps to redistribute their responsibilities. And there is the matter of income — the health services industry cost $25 billion in 1959!

There is also the question of status. Dr. Fox, deeply thoughtful editor of the

GEORGE A. SILVER, M.D., is chief of the Division of Social Medicine at Montefiore Hospital in New York.

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British Medical publication, *The Lancet*, has written of converting the "Medical Empire" into a "Medical Commonwealth." Considerations of this kind have important implications for the future of medical practice and medical care organization. This particular chapter, "The Changing Structure of Medical Practice," is very well done.

And so medical societies and their politics are found to be one factor that produces and maintains the confusion. They are an important factor, but still only one. Through its legislative bodies, society must take a hand to moderate the competing interests, adjust services to provide for patient and professional needs and assure the economic base so that each of its citizens has fair access to modern medicine.

The conclusions of this massive study lead where we might expect — there must be change, and soon. More physicians more adequately trained to cope with social needs and patient attitudes, more efficient organization of services, group practice, a rational hospital scheme, supervision of drug manufacture and marketing, increasing access to medical care through reduction of economic barriers. New, and as far as I know previously unconsidered, recom-

The Hell of Smoke

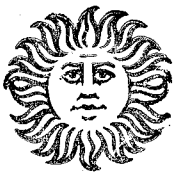
where fire-raisers try in vain to escape from
a shower of hot sand falling from a cloud . . .

The houses of men are on fire
Pity the dead in their graves
And the homes of the living
Pity the roofbeams whose waters burn till they're ash
Pity the old clouds, devoured by the clouds of hot sand
And the sweat that's drawn out of metals pity that too
Pity the teeth robbed of gold
The bones when their skin falls away
Pity man's cry when the sun is born in his cities
And the thunder breaks down his door
And pity the rain
For the rain falls on the deserts of man and is lost

If the mind is a house that has fallen
Where will the eye find rest
The images rise from the marrow and cry in the blood
Pity man's voice in the smoke-filled days
And his eyes in the darkness
Pity the sight of his eyes
For what can a man see in the darkness
What can he see but the children's bones and the dead sticks
But the places between spaces and the places of sand
And the places of black teeth
The faraway places
The black sand carried and the black bones buried
The black veins hanging from the open skin
And the blood changed to glass in the night

The eye of man is on fire
A green bird cries from his house
And opens a red eye to death
The sun drops out of a pine tree
Brushing the earth with its wings
For what can a man see in the morning
What can he see but the fire-raisers
The shadow of the fire-raisers lost in the smoke
The shadow of the smoke where the hot sand is falling
The fire-raisers putting a torch to their arms
The green smoke ascending
Pity the children of man
Pity their bones when the skin falls away
Pity the skin devoured by fire
The fire devoured by fire
The mind of man is on fire
And where will his eyes find rest

JEROME ROTHENBERG



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mendations lie in the field of regulating medical care costs. The Somerses recognize that control of doctors' fees and hospital costs contains elements of danger to the free practice of medicine, but they point out that without control reasonable discipline cannot be imposed either on charges or organizations. They toy with the idea of a "health authority" (a public service commission, to set rates and charges) but, of course, this would in no way influence utilization. Clearly some method is needed: perhaps a mixed form of self-regulation, consumer regulation and a public body might do the trick. As they say,

> The problem of reconciling a substantial and legitimate increase in medical care expenditures with the regulation necessary to maintain the financial stability of private health insurance and the health services industry in the face of ever-rising demand will be a continuing problem for years to come — at least until the necessary increase in the number and productivity of doctors and facilities is achieved. A great deal of study and experimental action is needed. But it would be disastrous to wait for a "perfect" or a "painless" form of control, which can never be found. The issue may no longer be regulation versus laissez-faire but regulation versus public operation.

If there is any defect here, it lies in the over-all impression that voluntary insurance must do the job. Regulated, of course, "forging a new pattern of public-private relationships" perhaps, but still voluntary insurance. The lesson of the European experience is that voluntary insurance cannot do the job, and the comfortable concept of cooperation between the public and private sectors breaks down when the government is forced to subsidize the private sector to maintain questionable profit incentives. In Denmark, for example, in order to maintain the balance, voluntary sick funds continue to exist, closely controlled in charges, uniform in their benefits, administered through a central agency heavily subsidized from tax funds. For all practical purposes this is a compulsory national health service, but the voluntary veneer is maintained, and the sick funds operate as private agencies. This duality, with its air of a masquerade in defense of free enterprise, is not logically necessary. However, the authors may be right that it is practically necessary—according to the American doctrine of the "concurrent majority." Foreign observers of the American scene are fairly pessimistic about the possibility of early radical political action to enforce a national health service. McKeown, dour professor of Social Medicine in Birmingham, has written tartly: "Both [political parties] have practiced a form of political contraception which insures that, however suggestive the preliminary movements, there are no embarrassing legislative consequences."

It is never easy to reduce the long-vested power and privilege of a class or group, but it has been done. Legislators, however reluctantly, eventually redress a balance, or they are replaced. The key is popular pressure (Jefferson's enlightened electorate). This book can do a great deal to stimulate that popular pressure by arousing interest, altering the apathy and prejudice that are the enemies of change, and through the vital light it throws on the problems and possible solutions, opening the way for a reasonable national health program.

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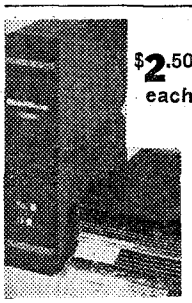

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Fulcrums for Reform

THE CROSSROADS OF LIBERALISM: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann, and the Progressive Era 1900-1925. By Charles Forcey. Oxford University Press. 358 pp. $7.

Peter Bachrach

STANDING upon the tenet that man can consciously and rationally direct his own fate, the American liberal has not lacked confidence in either his diagnosis of the ills of society or in what he believes constitute the Good Society. But he has been considerably less sure of the means by which the latter might be brought to pass. In fact he has floundered miserably in developing theories of change.

The complexity of the American political system, the absence of disciplined political parties, and a relatively weak and quiescent trade-union movement have not made his task any easier. Nevertheless, one would expect some degree of sophistication on the key issues pertaining to the problem of reform. What ought to be the role, for example, of the intellectual reformer in his relation with men of power? That is, can the intellectual elite exert sufficient influence upon decision-makers to initiate reform in the absence of sustained pressure from the electorate? If not, is the middle class a fulcrum to meaningful social change, or must such change await widespread protest from the working classes?

These are some of the questions examined by Charles Forcey in a significant and penetrating analysis of the three men who founded *The New Republic* in 1914: Herbert Croly, Walter Weyl and Walter Lippmann. Steeped in the thought of the progressive era, these editors came to their new assignment united in the belief that "democratic nationalism" must replace the selfish and narrow individualism of the Jeffersonians if American life and culture were to flourish. They "turned away," writes Forcey, "from a dream of automatic progress by the free-wheeling exercise of individual rights to a conviction that only the conscious, cooperative use of governmental power can bring reform." As Croly liked to put it, they were Hamiltonians in their belief that strong government was an essential means to achieve Jeffersonian ends, "essentially equalitarian and socialistic."

They were less united, however, on what the tactics of their New Liberalism should be. In *The Promise of American Life,* Croly argued that a regenerated America could come about only by the concerted action of the talented few; by those "exceptional fellow countrymen"

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who possessed the courage and insight to lead the way. To underscore the point, he closes his book with a call to the elite for "examples of heroism and saintliness."

Walter Lippmann wrote in the same Nietzsche-like vein in *A Preface to Politics,* but without Croly's fear that willful leadership might become perverse. He was confident in his youth, as he was more than forty years later when he wrote *Public Philosophy,* that America could be saved only by an inspired leadership unrestrained by the "dull mutterings of the multitude." Forcey's explanation of the elitist strain in progressive thought might well be applicable to the outbreak of elitist sentiment among liberals in the post-McCarthy era. "Lippmann in a sense merely magnified that middle-class progressive desire for a leader to save the class from its own stupidity. In the back of Lippmann's mind, as in the minds of many progressives, there lingered a fear that otherwise some sterner, less tractable master, some demagogic man of the people, might usurp the defaulted power."

UNLIKE HIS co-editors, Walter Weyl came to *The New Republic* without espousing an elite theory. In the *New Democracy* he argued that the mass of the people was the source of reform in a democracy and that they become receptive to reform when economic grievances are apparent. In contrast to Socialist theory, however, he believed that the protest of consumers was the effective leverage of reform in America, rather than the demands of the comparatively weak labor movement.

Although Croly and Lippmann became more democratic-minded and thus came closer to Weyl's position—they recognized the need for mass participation in reform—elitist influences were apparent in the management of *The New Republic.* At the outset, Croly, the lead editor, regarded the magazine primarily as a means to influence the men of power directly rather than indirectly through mass opinion. The editors had previously gained considerable prestige through their reputed influence on Theodore Roosevelt, and it was not long after launching their magazine that they thought they had the ear of Wilson. As they became more receptive to Wilson's policies, and as the war progressed, the magazine's circulation jumped from 16,000 in 1917 to a high of 43,000 in 1919. *The New Republic* men must have thought that they had achieved their objective of making the magazine the brains behind power; for, as Oswald Garrison Villard observed, "it was considered bad form in some official circles to be seen without it."

But six months later this illusion was shattered. The Versailles Treaty was made public and the editors, as men of principle, could not support it. In their view it repudiated all that they stood for. They had no alternative but to break with the administration, and this gesture swept away their cherished dream of influence—and with it thousands of *New Republic* subscribers. Commenting on this episode, and perhaps with an eye on the present, Forcey writes: "Intellectuals should maintain a proper skepticism about their chances of influencing men of power. Only such skepticism can breed the independence necessary for their best work."

The intellectuals of the progressive era effectively challenged the liberalism of the Jeffersonians. Nevertheless their theories, especially those pertaining to social change, have been found wanting for the twentieth century. In concluding his study, Professor Forcey strongly hints that it is time for liberals to develop a new theory that can form a crossroad to the New Liberalism of Croly, Weyl and Lippmann. For "after the passage of four decades most Americans have yet to learn how democracy can be made the source not only of liberty but of creative social change."

The Dark Power

WHITE SUN BLACK SUN. By Jerome Rothenberg. Hawk's Well Press. 40 pp. 75c.

SONGS. By Christopher Logue. McDowell, Obolensky. 118 pp. $3.

Gael Turnbull

THE poems in *White Sun Black Sun* by Jerome Rothenberg are introduced as an effort to "rediscover and invoke the real world through the dark power of image-forming words," and an attempt "always to speak directly, always to be understood, to create (even at the peril of great darkness) a country which is all our own." I wonder why this intention "to invoke a real world" and "to create . . . a country" must so deliberately be assumed to be associated with the production of darkness. Why should the power of image-forming words be considered a "dark power"? Why not to produce light? And to ask this question isn't to digress from the book to the jacket blurb because it is a problem that intimately concerns the poems. Consider this sentence from the poem of dedication:

> The other side of your eyes is the shadow of life,
> as riding the waves I journey from darkness to darkness,
> trailing my deaths behind me like stars
> in a night that has swallowed the ocean.

The words "eyes," "life," "shadow," "waves," "darkness," "deaths," "stars," "night" and "ocean" are all evocative, the emblems of the great spaces within the human spirit — but how vague and how drearily familiar. If they evoke, it is by means of familiarity; and the ease of the evocation is precisely the measure of their fogginess. Which is not to make a blanket generalization about Rothenberg's poems. He is usually better and more specific than in this example. However, the difficulty is almost always there. The obscure caverns of the mind may be invoked pretty easily, provided that one is satisfied to invoke obscurity. It's harder to bring light into the caverns. It is easy to point to a vast horizon. It's harder to measure the steps of a journey to reach it. Which sounds horribly obvious and even a bit patronizing. But I am re-

GAEL TURNBULL is a British poet at present living in California. A collection of his poems, Bjarni, *was published by Origin Press.*

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cording my own awareness; and an awareness that also concerns Rothenberg. In fact, much of the interest of his poetry, for me, is just at this crux.

Here is part of "A Country Dark Without Ghosts":

The owls call from the park.
Again we must come from the cross-roads,
Again the voice at the window,
The pebbles striking the glass,
And your faces watching a lamp in silence.
Oh country dark without ghosts!
Oh forsaken!
Garages painted with frost,
And keys that swing in lost autos the wind has driven!
Does the shadow have nothing behind it?
Your curtains are torn by an arrow, torn
By cries of lost hair in
The sink, by something that moves.
It is only absence that tells you,
The absence of ghosts in these rooms,
Or children in silence afraid of some door —
Where no one has been but our dreams.

I sense here a struggle to find images that are specific, and yet which also have a resonance that will carry the poem beyond what is merely personal to the writer. And, almost by intention, it isn't a poetry about which one can make much comment. The language and images work, or they don't work. The magic rites are said: the pentogram is drawn. The spirit is conjured up, or it isn't. The reader perceives what's beyond the wall, or doesn't. And the whys and wherefores aren't very accessible.

IF IT IS one test of effective writing that the words should come up off the page into the ears of the reader, then Christopher Logue is effective in his collection, *Songs*. That is, the words do, and even lines and phrases: there is a very obvious and noticeable "voice" to his work. But the poems, as totalities, as revelations, rarely reach me with anything of the same clarity. Yeats, I believe it was, suggested that poems should be written as if one were talking to a ditch digger on the other side of a city street. There is certainly something of this in Logue's poems — as if he had the volume control of a loudspeaker turned up to full intensity, but one could only grasp what he was saying in discontinuous bits.

At times there seem to be two distinct "voices" in his work. There is the one of "To My Fellow Artists":

Today, it came to me. How you
My friends, who write, who draw
And carve, friends who make pictures,
Plays, finger delicate instruments,
Compose, or fake, or criticize — how
In the oncoming megaton bombardments,
All you stand for will be gone
Like an arrow into hell.

Then there is the "voice" of "Song for Kathleen":

With hasps in tune,
Filled up with shells, old water weeds, and wind,
Stones almost as bright as human eyes,
And Tom will give it thee while Jill stands by.
My fair Lady
The sundial stops.
The thunder comes again. Within your head,
And in the street, and in between the rain,
Too many Eves are wet, too many Adams dead
Oh my fair Lady

I have difficulty fitting these two voices together, and there are places where I think that Logue has difficulty. Though indeed, to fit a Kathleen Raine or Edith Sitwell sort of voice into a Trafalgar Square sort of speech, if not always very successful is, at the least, an ambition.

"To My Fellow Artists" is the most notable of Logue's poems and was first published as a broadside. I first read it in that form. It may seem a quibble to insist that a poem may succeed when printed on a single large sheet and not when printed in a book. Yet there is a difference of intention implied by the broadside, which is something to hold in the hand, read once or twice, and then pass on or discard. The single impact is made or not made; and in these terms, it can be much. But a book? Which may be read and known intimately? Wherein the language must serve not once, but continuously? And in the case of this poem, in the book, it doesn't serve; nor in other poems like it.

LOGUE has my admiration for trying to write a poetry which speaks explicitly, which "says." He has my antipathy in that the speaking is not done as one individual to another. He speaks from a public persona, at times almost a megaphone; and he speaks to another public persona, the public as an aggregate, as audience. So that I, as reader or listener, seem to exist for him only as a digit in that total mass. As perhaps I do; he could be only too right, and in a sense is right. But I don't have to like this, and don't like it. It implies a contempt for the individual. Like many another writer anxious to save mankind, he has little or no apprehension of the individual as a person. His poems may have been very successful, from a functional point of view. He has become, if not a "smiling," at least a "public" man. He has succeeded in this; but the poems, will they continue to succeed? They have served Logue; but what of the reader? They have served causes, and perhaps very laudable ones. But are they of use to us, the very individuals he is so bent upon saving?

In "Current Titles of Interest," published last week, John Dornberg's book was wrongly titled *Schizophrenic Berlin*. It should have been *Schizophrenic Germany*. — Ed.

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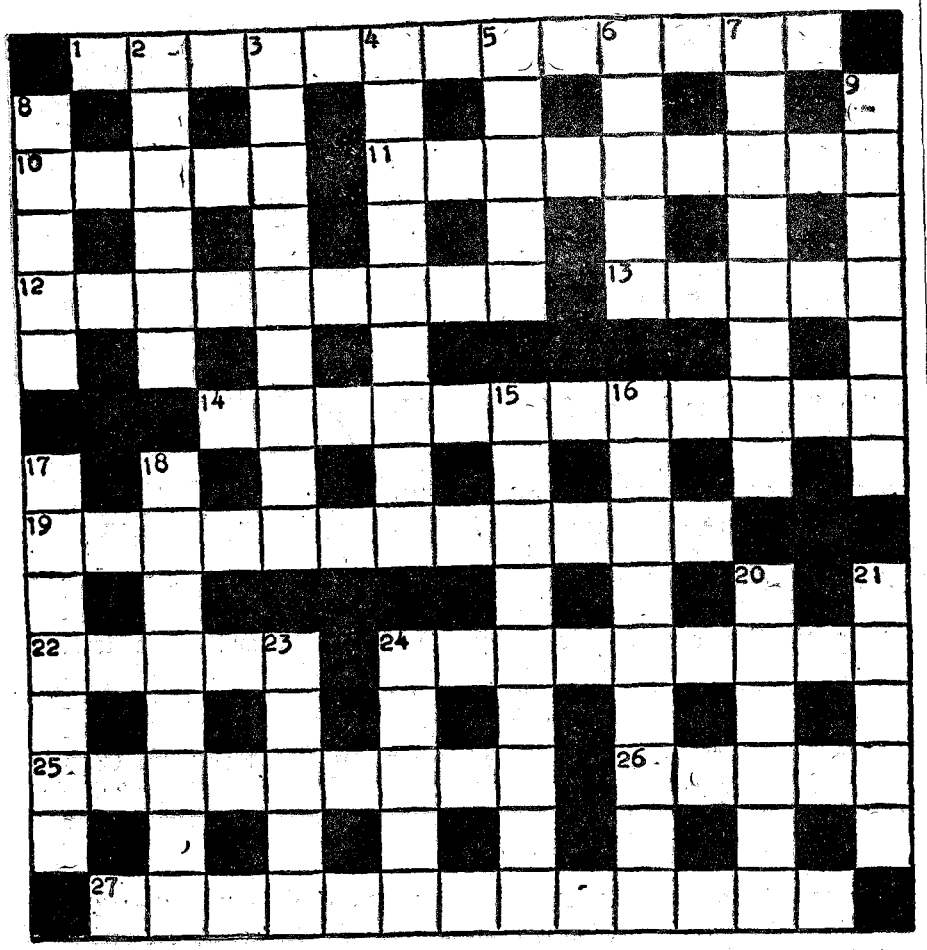
Crossword Puzzle No. 928

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The state of confusion for us as casts them! (13)
10 Might come out of 13 without a drink, perhaps. (5)
11 Legal things calling for immediate attention rising out of decadence.
12 Let a fellow loose, and he can act for himself. (4, 5)
13 Wash down a combination of it? Right out of the Book! (5)
14 One might be able to figure the chances of it, as it acts in distress.
19 Where to find 45 action as fast as possible? (2, 6, 4)
22 The food of love, reputedly. (5)
24 Produces biological factor values.
25 It's icy call is like an antiseptic.
26 Where to find a Paris street torn up, so get used to it. (5)
27 You might find this girl too thin, so made up to suit Audibon, for example. (13)

DOWN:

2 Ran awkwardly around the filament. (6)
3 Carcass, it seems, appropriate for cutting. (9)
4 Literally a wagon-maker to come in with a fishhead? (9)
5 Spill a fixed arrangement, with the parts reversed. (5)
6 Puck said he'd put a girdle round it. (5)
7 The type who should be religious cite this, in a loose way. (8)
8 Did this writer have anything in common with Howard Fast? (5)
9 Airs the result of too much tension.
15 Alas! It can cause a devilish amount of trouble! (9)
16 In Germany, always vocalize in English when bathing, for example.
17 A body high up, bearing on 1 across, shortly. (3, 4)
18 Fall might mark the culmination of his activity. (8)
20 What are such vessels made of? It's a toss-up! (6)
21 Not tidy in the manner of English gardens. (5)
23 Plants a little of the play in little over a century. (5)
24 Does it mark the course of the Mogul Chinese? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 927

ACROSS: 1 Abide; 4 Grooms; 11 Windrow; 12 Orbital; 13 Branch out; 14 Nooks; 15 Direct current; 17 Compressed air; 22 Ionic; 24 Inebriate; 25 Hobnail; 26 Tearing; 27 No sale; 28 Stays. DOWN: 2 Bengazi; 3 Dirt cheap; 5 and 16 Robin redbreast; 6 Outworn; 7 Splash; 8 Swabs; 9 Two on the aisle; 10 Contour sheets; 18 Omnibus; 19 Inanity; 20 Lichen; 21 Merge; 23 Crawl.

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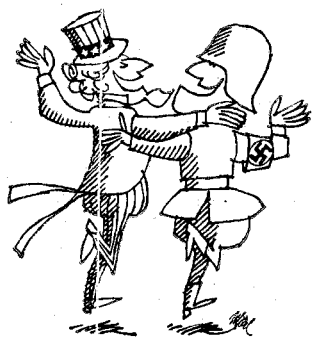

This is an admittedly one-sided article designed to show that leading former Nazis are back in control of the government, industry and the military in West Germany. Names are named and specific examples are given from authoritative sources. The purpose is to question severely the value of making Berlin the point for a possible nuclear showdown with Russia.

You will find this article in the September issue of **THE CALIFORNIAN,** along with these other features:

CONGRESSMEN SUPPORT NAZI-LIKE ORGANIZATION—This deals with the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, biggest expellees organization in West Germany, and the former Nazis who are leading it under a philosophy almost identical to that of the old Sudeten German Party of Hitler's stooge Konrad Henlein. Names of the former Nazis in control are listed, as are the names of American Congressmen who lent support to the organization after prodding by one of the former Nazi leaders.

CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE CAUGHT IN FALSE ADS—The biggest and most dangerous organization of anti-communist fanatics in the U.S. today was caught by **THE CALIFORNIAN** using Dr. Edward Teller's name for the "faculty" of its widely publicized Southern California School of Anti-Communism. Dr. Teller was quite upset over the advertisements for the "school" listing his name. This article also gives the names of the big corporations backing the Crusade and some unsavory facts about the corporations.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT INVALIDATES HOOVER REPORT—Most people do not realize that the Defense Department was planning to base its new film, **"The Challenge of Ideas,"** on the Hoover Report: "Communist Target—Youth." After lengthy study, the Hoover Report was scrapped because of inaccuracies and the new film not only does not tie in the student demonstrations with communism, but makes no mention at all of the three-day uproar in San Francisco. This is a big story, obtained directly from the Defense Department by **THE CALIFORNIAN,** and it has set off angry tirades in Congress from the professional anti-communist bloc.

Also in this issue: 75 Congressmen Told Roosevelt They Wanted to Vote Against HUAC; "Kremlin in Hollywood"; Catholic Church Takes $12.4 Million Off San Francisco Tax Rolls; Jack Lotto, Goldfine and the Communists; Congressman Charges PARADE Distorts; A Story on Nutrio-Bio Corp.; McCrackin Is Guilty; Quaker Oats Increases Profits 10% by Puffing Wheat, Reducing Weight.

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